

Brit.

320^m

To the Kings Library
at Munich with the
Authors best Respects

Munich Kaufinger Strasse
1026

29th December 1830

Brid 320m

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

1215 Broadway, New York City

Acquired by the City of New York

from the collection of the
New York Public Library

Gift of the City of New York

from the collection of the
New York Public Library

from the collection of the
New York Public Library

from the collection of the
New York Public Library

from the collection of the
New York Public Library

Printed by Dr. Carl Wolf
A LETTER.

with the Author's
FROM MUNICH.

Respectfully
TO

Respectfully

THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE

LORD PALMERSTON,

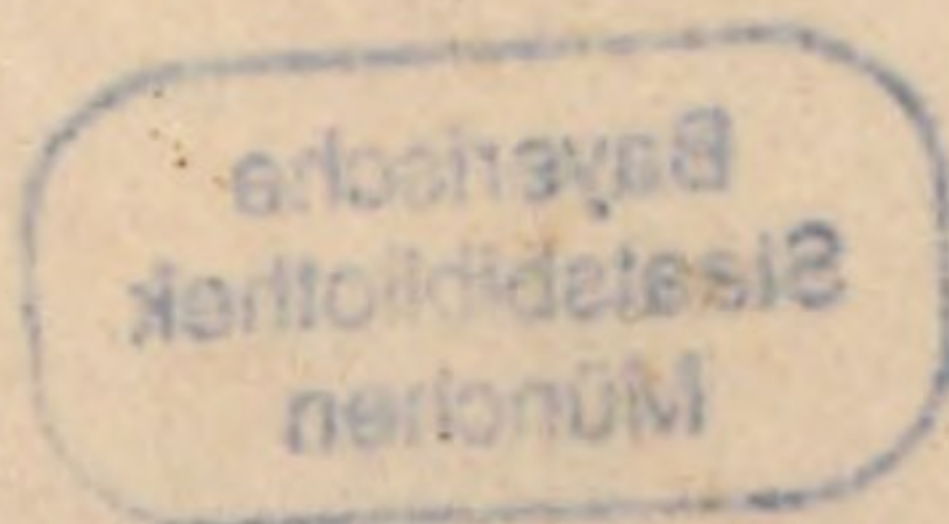
**HIS BRITANIC MAJESTY'S MINISTER OF STATE FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON THE LATE HAPPY CHANGE
OF MINISTRY IN ENGLAND.**

BY A. V. KIRWAN, ESQ.

MUNICH,

PRINTED BY DR. CARL WOLF.

1830.



A LETTER

FROM MUNICH.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE

LORD PALMERSTON,

HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S MINISTER OF STATE FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE GREAT BRITAIN
OF MINISTRY IN ENGLAND.

BE A. V. KIRWAN, ESQ.

MUNICH,

PRINTED BY DR. CARL WOLFF.

1830.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

ADVERTISEMENT.

The English Reader is requested to extend a more than ordinary indulgence to the Author of the following pages. The Composition of this Pamphlet was undertaken after the fatigues of a long journey. It was commenced on the evening of the 12th of December and finished amidst many interruptions on the Evening of the 15th. The labour of composition was trivial indeed, compared with the difficulties to be surmounted in correcting the Press, in a town in which no printer understood our language, and in which all Journeymen pursue their daily work in a different character and type from the English.

Still the Author is fully aware that these are not valid excuses for imperfections. His position however only allowed him a choice of evils: for being obliged to be anew *en route* on the morning of the 16th he had only to perform his task imperfectly; or not to perform it at all. The former course he preferred, and thus incurred a responsibility of which if he does not fulfill the measure, the circumstances he has related must form the excuse.

In the German Edition of the pamphlet he has profited largely of the assistance of Mr. P. Cella a native of Nuremberg but now resident at Munich. In this Edition it is hoped the typographical errors are not so numerous. The French Translation is altogether the Authors own, and must therefore be looked on indulgently as the production of a Foreigner.

Munich, Kaufinger-Strafse 1026 Dec. 15th 1830.

My Lord,

I shall make no apology for thus addressing your Lordship and I persuade myself to think that your Lordship will require none. The letter which I have the honor to address to your Lordship altogether relates to public topics, and to whom can it be more properly addressed than to a Nobleman of great talents and extensive views, to whom his most gracious Majesty (in the exercise of a wisdom, which not only every Englishman, but every foreigner of enlightened views must applaud) has confided, at this critical juncture the Port-folio of foreign affairs? A concurrence of circumstances impel me to this task. Accident has for the moment placed me in the capital of a foreign country, in which of necessity the state of English affairs and the position of English parties are but little known. As an Englishman interested in the prosperity of his country; — interested like every good Englishman

in the downfall of the Wellington Cabinet — and in the stability and support of that, of which your Lordship is so distinguished and eloquent a member I deem it my duty from the capital of a constitutional Monarchy — from the dominions of a king — who like our own WILLIAM has “enfeoffed” himself to popularity — and who by first learning the good lesson how to obey has afterward learned not less worthily than our most gracious Sovereign the more difficult task of how to command — from the dominions of LOUIS of Bavaria, whose throne like that of WILLIAM of England was not sought to be compromised by a cold a haughty and an ambitious minister; from the dominions of such a king, where freedom of speech and of action reign I address not alone your Lordship but the continent of Europe on the fortunate change which has placed Earl Grey at the head of the English Ministry.

As a conscientious supporter of that Ministry as at present constituted it is not less my duty than my inclination to dispel the erroneous views, which prevail out of England, as to the character of the present Cabinet. It is idle to conceal from your Lordship that beyond the limits of France the name of Wellington had a talismanic influence. The unparalelled good fortune of his Grace as Soldier — his undoubted military genius — his firmness — his apparent directness and

singleness of purpose — his unbounded devotion to that system, which he had himself created, at the point of the sword, and to the integrity of which all his efforts as well open as tortuous were directed — his Grace's complete adhesion to the landed interest — his great wealth, and above all his impassability as to every thing which did not concern his own system, — his own interests — and his own pride — served to propagate and to maintain for his Grace abroad a character such as no one man in our history with perhaps the single exception of Marlborough had ever enjoyed. Add to this that the people of the Continent were well aware that the edifice of Europe was almost altogether of his Grace's building and that the vanity, and the obstinacy of the architect were alike concerned in resisting alteration and improvement. The success too which attended the issue of the Catholic Question — the perseverance, with which that success was bruited by a chorus of needy and fawning parasites, whose ignominious servility must have even stunk in the nostrils of him, for whom it was intended rendered his Grace a kind of Demigod to doubt whose divinity was a kind of *laesae Majestae*.

To expect deep or profound inquiry on the internal affairs of England from a people, who speak another language and inhabit another

country would be perhaps too much; and it is therefore not wonderful, that the persons, who read of his Grace's having settled the Catholic Question have never heard of the means, by which it had been settled. Of the great boon conferred on the people of Ireland by that settlement Russia, Prussia and Austria have all heard, but little do they know of the deep stain of perjury and treachery and fraud and falsehood, which that settlement inflicted on the National character of England. In speaking of the triumph of the Catholic Question the Historian will weigh the means against the end in considering whether the peace of Ireland was not too dearly purchased by the abandonment of opinion — the desertion of friends and the betrayal of party.

The Continent knows that the late Ministry carried the Catholic Question, but the continent does not know, that mainly to that Question the Ministry owes its ruin. Necessary as the settlement of the Catholic Question was — imperiously — as it was demanded — still no Ministry, — no body of men however high in point of talent (and none of the late Ministry possessed more than ordinary talents, while some of them were conspicuously eminent for pompous inanity and others for official pertness) no Ministry I say no matter how constituted could survive that opinion, which attached to the conduct of the Wellington cabinet

on this Question and which sunk deep into the mind of the Country. They, who had always supported the Catholic Question like your Lordship no doubt rejoiced in its success, while they equally deplored the manner, in which that success was obtained. The designs of Providence however are inscrutable, and the instruments of Providence are not always chosen with regard to their fitness or consistency.

The question of religious toleration exhausted the genius, the energies and the lives of BURKE, of FOX, of PITT, of SHERIDAN, and of GRATTAN in an unperfected labor, while the consummation of religious liberty was reserved for a Wellington, a Peel! a Goulbourn!! and a Dawson!!! A year and a half before the question was carried, your Lordship's illustrious friend and colleague Mr. Canning was hunted to death by the very men who have since followed in his footsteps and profited by his labor, and two months before the Emancipation Bill was passed, the gallant Lord Anglesea was torn from the hearts of the people of Ireland, because he said, the Parliament ought to pass an Act, which in eight months after was the Law of England. Justice though sometimes slow, is generally sure. Lord Anglesea is again Vice-Roy of Ireland, while he, who was Vice-Roy over him is neither first Lord of the Treasury —

nor Minister for Foreign Affairs, nor even Commander in Chief — but Constable of the Tower of London to which Constableness he may not go by the King's highway for bad eggs and raw turnips are more perilous stuff than the bullets of Waterloo. Ah verily, verily there is a Providence!

The conduct of the Duke of Wellington however on the Catholic Question "pales its ineffectual ray" before the refulgent recreancy of Sir Robert Peel. Here was a man with no recommendation of birth — with no commanding talent — distinguished much by a nauseous affectation of candour but chiefly by a most suspicious self complacency borne into notice on the shoulders of Protestantism — sent to Ireland almost as a boy to foster the intolerance of a predominant sect — and transferred to Oxford for an orthodoxy which it would be heresy to doubt — here was this man year after year for twenty long years making speeches against the Catholics — refusing to become a member of Mr. Canning's administration because in that administration there was — not a determined predominancy in favor of the Question — but rather an inclination towards the entertainment of it — here was this man in one year and a half after this refusal to enter into the Canning Cabinet still, your Lordship will remem-

ber entertaining all his old opinions (for he so stated in his speech) actually bringing in the Catholic Bill himself! In private life such conduct would be visited with its just reward: nor was it wholly unreprehended in public. From the day of his apostacy Mr. Peel's character sunk for ever. His ancient friends the Ultra-Tories reviled him with a pleasant bitterness while the Whigs sat silently in an armed neutrality loving the treason (for the public sake) but abhorring the traitor. In answer to these topics Sir Robert Peel's defenders cry out "oh! but where will you find so useful a Minister? where so excellent a Reformer of the Law"? — I well remember the time when Sir Robert Peel resisted those reforms which now bear the impress of his name; but in those days Lord Castlereagh was leader of the House of Commons, and the reforms were sought to be introduced by the lamented and philosophic Romilly; and were sustained by the elaborate erudition of a Mackintosh, and the vigorous exposition of one who hitherto having fallen on evil days — has too late (the reproach is not his but his Country's) received the splendid recompense which, as it has been too often bestowed on needy, and rapacious adventurers, will derive fresh lustre from the keeping of a personage adorned with every talent, and unstained by any political turpitude — Need I

say that I allude to my Lord Brougham and Vaux! —

The perfection of religious liberty would have formed the apotheosis of a Whig Cabinet, or of a Ministry composed of such liberal and enlightened spirits as your Lordship's, but distantly though surely it became the death-knell of a Ministry made up of plighted promises, and broken vows — frail materials certainly — but sought to be fused together by the admixture of a Pseudo Whig of Jamaica breed who dealt out to the public writers of England that merciful measure of justice with which his early West India recollections supplied him — But to return to the Masters of Sir James Scarlett formerly his Majesty's Attorney General now the "*Can-tor formarum*" of the King's Bench.

The people of Ireland participators in this measure of justice conferred by the Act of 1829 soon rallied against the dispensers of it — Its concession they hailed not as a measure of justice accorded from principle; but as a symbol of Ministerial weakness wrested by their own strength — Hence the agitation in favor of the separation between the two Countries.

Had this Catholic Question been accomplished by a Whig or a Liberal Cabinet, no cry of a repeal of the Union would have resounded through Ireland — Mr. O-Connell would be placed in his proper sphere. His forensic ta-

lents would be fitly engaged in the dispensation of justice to his Countrymen; and the Law would reap a large advantage from the devotion of his talents to pursuits in which he is acknowledged to be without rival. As it is he is out of his sphere. In the Imperial Parliament he injures his health without serving his Country. Let us hope that Lord Grey will envelop his "amending hand" with the spotless ermine and exercise his complaining tongue in other halls than those of Saint Stephens.

If the concession of the Catholic Question conferred on the late Ministry no strength their refusal to entertain the Jewish Disability Removal-Bill but augmented their weakness. Here on this question was Mr. Peel found repeating all the stale generalities with which his old wardrobe of cast off Anti-Catholicism supplied him. The Catholics in his early days he argued ought not to be emancipated because they were so many. The Jews in his mature age he contended deserved no relief because they were so few. As the Ex Home Secretary never wanted an argument to keep his place — so he never needed a plea to palliate injustice or oppression.

Had however the Duke of Wellington determined to emancipate the Jews before he left Office in the past month of November, Sir Robert would have gulped down his for-

mer words with a Pica * like appetite, and greedily devoured the debris of sophistry with which he sought to confound the representatives of the landed interest. In going over the life of the Right Honorable Baronet (I will not profane the word Statesman in applying it to him). — I should only have to recount a string of unworthy compliances extorted from fear or dictated by interest.

From the Catholic Question to the Swan River job the ground to be travelled over presents the same arid and to the world infructuous surface. — Interest — interest — only self interest — And what is the excuse? — Three miraculous and interesting young Peels — to wit Jonathan and Lawrence and William Yates (all of them I believe with what the French happily call a "*chevelure suspect*") no romantic names certainly but smelling surely of a Manchester atmosphere though gilded all over with public money. But there is yet another plea for the Honorable Baronet. The Nation would be for ever and aye undone if the refuse of Londonderry

*) Physicians have a disease which they call PICA; the symptom is that the Patient swallows every thing that comes across him. Sir Chas Wetherall says that similar symptoms display themselves in Political Life. He calls the disease however eating words and says that Mr. Peel is voraciously affected with it.

and the cast off of Dublin did not remain as a household fixture in the chambers of his Majesty Treasury at Whitehall. Really Mr. O'Connell you are too much of a shrew. To call a stone a stone may be forgiven, but to say that Mr. George Dawson *is* (read *was*) a Clerk is an inexpressible offence. The *peine forte et dure* is abolished; but were it in existence you richly deserve its exercise. Mr. George Dawson like his brother in law and patron, "turned and turned and turned again" but the late Secretary of the Treasury in sunshine or in rain; in fair weather or in foul was always in the receipt of public money. Dogmas were indifferent to Mr. Dawson; his great concern was not doctrines but drachma's.

Your Lordship will allow me to cast a hasty *coup d'oeil* on a few of the remaining Members of the late Cabinet. That incarnation of arithmetical science the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goulbourn) also a *protégé* of Mr. Peel was like his Master distinguished for the vehemence of his Protestantism. The fame of Mr. Goulbourn's figures (as well of speech as of number) may pass away; but his *volti subito* movements on the Catholic Question will eternize his memory as a great posture master. I have more wondered at than envied the power of Madame Vaque Moulin the pride of the Neapolitan *Ballet* but the *pirouettes* of this *danseuse*

were as nothing compared to the gyrations of this modern Neckar. In the old country dances we used to change sides, down the middle and up again; but these transitions were not rapid enough for modern mutability and *pirouettes* on the stage, and the Catholic Question in the House of Commons are evidence of the march of modern improvement. Independently of his conduct in the Catholic Question the late Chancellor atchieved an infelicitous renown by his speech and resolutions on the Sugar Duties Bill. These were happy specimens of the Clair - obscur. That they were about Sugar all were agreed, but what more no body could tell. The resolutions I have heard are to be given in the way of *Charades* by the facetious Mr. Francis Moore in his almanac for 1831. A large reward is to be offered for the "harporth of bread" floating through this "gallon of sack" and it is avowed by his friends that the respectable Mr. Billy Holmes the Companion (*proh pudor*) of the hero of Waterloo having now much spare time — and being in consequence rather out at the elbows — is determined to try his hand at this Pons Asinorum.

Alas! for poor Lord Ellenborough! He has again taken his seat on the Opposition Benches. His Lordship's strength like Sampsons lies in his hair and now that he has leisure to foster those "ambrosical curls"

too recently weighed down with one of those awkward incumbrances from which even heaven born Statesmen are not exempt, he may be expected to display in debate the sagacity and strength of a "tame elephant." Should his Lordship become restive, reform may reach the patent of the Clerkship of the Pells.

To Mr. Herries no one will deny the praise of being an excellent Clerk an expert calculator and an adept in quiet and sly intrigue; but these are not the qualities to govern a great Nation in an impending Crisis. Mr. Pitt or his father had kept men of this class to the desk, with pen in ear, and the Ready Reckoner in hand; but since his day England has been too much governed by Clerks and Loan Jobbers. This reproach will not attach to the Ministry of Lord Grey.

Lord Aberdeen has been so well described in a recent pamphlet (which doubtless your Lordship has read that it were surplusage, to waste words on this stiff and haughty Noblemen. Wrapped up in the silence of a prudent reserve which his admirers mistake for wisdom, but, which the world calls stupidity we have lately seen his Lordship encountered at no disadvantage by a plain and simple Citizen of the Netherlands Mr. Van de Weyer.

There remained but two men with pretensions to genius in the Wellington Cabinet. One of

these Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald on the recovery of his health injured by the late contest for Clare either was not offered a place in, or did not chuse to return to the Cabinet: — the other Sir George Murray, whose mild and gracious manners disarmed hostility and whose persuasive eloquence almost forced a reluctant conviction, seldom took part in debate and it is understood on more than one occasion, solicited his dismissal. These two Right Honorable Gentlemen in times of difficulty and danger always supported the healing measure of Emancipation; and they of course stand forth (to use an expression of Popes) “unabashed on high”.

Such was the Ministry which England in a vigorous throe cast forth, from her bosom. The wonder of her endurance was great; but that which was still more extraordinary was, that with a Cabinet so constituted the affairs of the Country went on in regular progression. That the Government of the Country however did go on was not owing to the power of the Ministry but to the forbearance of the Opposition. With the exception of Sir Robert Peel (who never rose above mediocrity and sometimes fell below it) Sir George Murray and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, there was no Minister in the House of Commons who could sustain an ordinary debate — In the Lords, matters were still worse — Suvaroff splitting syllogisms or Alcibiades talk-

ing of a reduction of the 4 per Cents was but a type of the Duke of Wellington in his new avocation. Can yon play the flute said some fantastic musician to Timeleon? No said the Grecian General, I am no musician, but I can destroy a City. The reply was more than an epigram; it was wisdom. In our days however we have seen stranger metamorphoses than even Timoleon flute playing and consequently, most diastrous failures. To be a great General and a great Statesman is not given unto man. The scent of the hound and the sight of the lynx are never conjoined.

The Duke of Wellington in seizing the reins of Government turned his proper prerediction regarding himself into a truth. In the case of lunatics "coming events often cast their shadows before" — Swift had revelations of his own madness and more from selfishness than benevolence built an hospital of which he was one of the first to profit. If no other good result follows the existence of the Wellington Administration than the institution of an asylum for lunatic Statesmen the madness of one individual may eventuate in a National Benefit — There is little doubt that the military fame of the Duke of Wellington will extend to a remote posterity, yet not without alloy —

For signal as his success was in arms equally signal was his failure in civil affairs — The late Premier would at all risks.

"Mount the chariot of the Sun

"To fall like Phaeton"

My task, is now one of a more pleasing nature. I turn from a consideration of the late to the present Cabinet full of eager and believing hope, and with that just confidence which the experience, the talents, the rank of each and every member of the new Ministry holds forth to the Public — In the existing Cabinet we find neither soldiers of fortune, nor political adventurers. It is composed of men who have a deep stake in the prosperity of the Country — to whom salary can be no object — who must prosper with the Country's improvement, and whose pecuniary concerns must be affected by any measure tending to injure any one of our great interests.

Within the compass of a small pamphlet it would be difficult to do justice to the talents of Lord Grey. Early introduced into public life under the most promising auspices, his Lordship's career in the House of Commons was distinguished by a loftiness and a purity of which the examples are alas! too rare. Schooled in the precepts of Mr. Fox the allurements of office or the promptings of ambition have never induced his Lordship to deviate from those principles to which his early troth was pledged.

Almost wholly excluded from place during his political career by an unbending integrity, which no combination of circumstances could affect, his Lordship has been for 30 Years the attentive observer and generally the strenuous opponent of a series of Ministries whose incongruity, inefficiency, and disunion have been sometimes the themes of his invective — sometimes of his reproach and sometimes of his sarcasm. The errors which Lord Grey could so luminously point out to others he will have the prudence to avoid. Endowed with a head to conceive, and a hand to execute, the reflections of a long life will no longer remain an abstraction. Practical — yet speculative — luminous yet full of detail — capable of viewing a subject as whole and also in each particular part, his Lordship possesses the rare sagacity of discerning where practice should begin and theory end. Blessed with a rich well of undefiled harmonious and vigorous language, with a ready and graceful elocution a copious and classical illustration — logical — sarcastic — severe — yet always stately and dignified his Lordship presents the rarest combination of enlarged views, lofty character, energy of mind, and determination of purpose which our age presents. Deeply read in the constitution and laws of his Country acquainted with her landed, commercial, and manufacturing in-

terests — versed in foreign politics not only as a learned Publicist but also as a practical Statesman — where could his Majesty find a Nobleman centering in himself so many various and diversified qualifications? In the Cabinet of Lord Grey there will be vigor but there will be order too. Under such a Chief all stickling for superiority must cease; for although there may be others of the Ministers who excel the Premier in particular departments, yet it will be unanimously conceded that there is no one of his Cabinet who presents such a concentration of high qualifications for the important office.

The transcendant talents of the present Chancellor are so well known that I will not dwell long upon them. The Idol of that Bar of which he was the most distinguished ornament, his demeanour towards his brethern was distinguished by a gentleness a simplicity a condescension and a kindness which the young remember with delight; and which the old might well imitate. His brethern have done him the last and noblest homage which the most enlightened body in the world could confer upon him. With the Chief Justice at their head they stood up in a body to bid a last farewell to him whose most pronounced and decisive forensic triumphs gave no heart stain. Lord Brougham may wear these honors well, for they have been dearly ear-

ned — As a Barrister however he left one urgent duty unperformed — There is no indignant protest of *his* against a man whose style whose manners, and whose acts while Attorney General have done more to degrade the Character of an Honorable and gentlemanlike profession than any thing which has occurred within the memory of man — This duty was reserved for the manly mind of Mr. Denman, and it is gratifying to think that truth and worth in his person are rewarded to the exclusion of the overweening self sufficiency and despicable political truckling of Sir James Scarlett There is a limit at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue and Mr. Brougham carried endurance beyond that limit in the case of "Lawyer Scarlett" — As an Equity Judge Lord Brougham has incurred an awful responsibility — To temperate Parliamentary Reform he stands pledged; and also to the more difficult task of reforming the great body of the Equity and Common Law Jurisdiction — That his years may be full, and his opportunities ample must be the wish of every benevolent mind —

The Chancellorship of the Exchequer is now filled by Lord Althorpe — For generations the noble family to which his Lordship belongs have given earnest of their good feelings towards the people. Distinguished for steady industry, sound sense uncompromising honesty and the highest honor his Lordship will

introduce that economy which he has so often unavailingly enforced; — and seek to reduce those taxes which press upon the springs of the productive industry of the Country.

The Colonies are confided to Lord Goderich who was Under Secretary to the late Lord Castlereagh and who as Chancellor of the Exchequer and afterwards as Prime Minister acquired official experience. The ready and flowing eloquence of his Lordship will not be without its weight in the Lords; while his aimiable feelings and benevolent views will find that exercise and outlet in the amelioration of the condition of the slave population for which there may not be very abundant scope in the conflicts of the Parliamentary discussion.

As Minister of the Interior Lord Melbourne's undoubted talents for business will receive a more active impulsion. His Lordship needs only the stimulus of affairs to render his course at once useful and brilliant.

Your Lordship doubtless regrets that the growing infirmities of Lord Holland do not allow his Lordship to accept a situation of more import than the Duchy of Lancaster — His Lordship's zeal is greater than his strength; but his extensive information on foreign topics — his ardent counsels — and impassioned eloquence will avail the Ministry when occasion offers.

It would be difficult to find a more appropriate President of the Council than Lord Lansdowne. The gravity of his Lordship's character, — his industry, — his extensive research — the respectability of his life, — the moderation of his views, — his calmness, — his investigating and patient spirit — the great weight in fine which his Lordship has with the Country — all point him out as the happiest choice that could be made in a post in which deliberation rather than action is desired.

Though it must be admitted the present Ministry is stronger in the Lords than in the other House of Parliament, yet it embraces also all the rising talent of the Commons. No one in our day has made so successful a debut in the Lower House of Parliament as Sir James Graham the Honorable member for the county of Cumberland at present holding the Portfolio of First Lord of the Admiralty."

Not on one but on several occasions has the Honorable Baronet originated motions which in their issue seemed to threaten destruction to the Wellington Cabinet; and which in their effect on the Country have done more to undermine that Cabinet, than any other discussions within the walls of Parliament. Easy of access; of frank manners and open character; of a fluent — classical and graceful oratory — Sir Ja-

mes can be alike playful, and profound. While yet young and out of office he had attained almost the highest; if not the very highest rank as a debater. What then may we not hope from an experience matured by affairs? and schooled by the practical discipline of office.

Mr. Charles Grant to whom rumour had assigned the Board of Trade has been finally placed at the Board of Control. As an orator there is no one in the House of Commons who can compare with Mr. Grant with the single exception of your Lordship. A pupil of Mr. Huskisson's Mr. Grant is well skilled in all that relates to trade and finance. Even in the detail of Mr. Grant there is a spirit of generalization which was unusual in the bygone era of clerks and penmen.

In this era it was the bad fortune of the Member for Inverness as well as of your Lordship to have for some years lived; but it must be avowed to the honor of the Right Honorable Gentleman and to the credit of your Lordship, that when it was a crime to be liberal both your Lordship and Mr. Grant dared to be so. During the leaden sway of Lord Liverpool you enunciated the same sentiments which you do now. The sardonic smile which then played across the countenance of Mr. Peel disclosed his idea of the permanency and the profit of intolerance; but Mr. Peel has since changed his sentiments without being convinced; and notwithstanding

has not been able to make the Home Office a kind of freehold appurtenant to the family. Those at whom he used then to scoff — and ironically cheer to the top of his voice — now enjoy that power of which he stands divested before, the Country — That philosophy which neither history nor reading could supply him with, he may gather from altered circumstances — and learn in his own fall that in the long run, honesty is the best policy —

Obvious circumstances, and they will readily enough suggest themselves to your Lordship preclude me from touching as much at length as I could desire on your Lordship's character and talents — These however are so well known, and so highly estimated that, did I impose the task on myself it would be in a great degree a work of supererogation — Placed at the War Office in a time of no ordinary difficulty your Lordship acquitted yourself with energy, with diligence and with talent — In no way compromised in Mr. Huskisson's quarrel with the Duke of Wellington a lofty sense of honor induced you to withdraw with that Statesman — In this upright conduct your own Country as well as Foreign Nations will find a guarantee — The man who would compromise his own honor, if the occasion offered would not long hesitate to compromise the honor of his Country — In this regard no stain attaches to the character of your Lordship — You have

demonstrated that your political sensibility would feel "a stain like a wound" — For the rest, the noble Viscount who made the very best speech on the Catholic Question whether considereid wth reference to the diction the which was sonorous and eloquent — to style which was stately and imposing — to the views which were enlarged and philosophic (not alone with relation to domestic affairs but with reference to our interests and our power abroad) that noble person must be fully competent to manage our foreign relations even in these times of difficulty — Nor is the subject new to your Lordship. For during several sessions you have taken an active part in foreign discussions in the House of Commons — Your speeches on Portuguese affairs are remembered with gratitude by every exile from that unhappy land.

In all affairs but more especially in affairs of the Cabinet, unity of action is desirable — Your Lordship will not be thwarted in your liberal impulsions. — You will find an able ally in the Earl of Carlisle who is well versed in foreign politics; and as able a defender in his accomplished son, of a truth the most rising young nobleman in the house of Commons — To have been listened to in the late contest for York with as much attention as the present Chancellor, to have been compared with him in many respects — forms the unique and appropriate

praise of Lord Morpeth — But more than this, your Lordship will be sustained and eloquently supported by the nearest relative of the Duke of Wellington, by his elder Brother the Marquis of Wellesley next to the noble Premier perhaps the most eloquent speaker in the Lords. Was it my Lord Jealousy of Lord Wellesley's talents of his superior information, and more enlarged views that interfered to prevent his receiving under the administration of his brother those employments for which he was so well fitted? — Military men declare that the hero of Waterloo though a great General was a very jealous one — that he chose not those who could conceive and sometimes counteract, but those who would always blindly obey, faithfully execute and admiringly applaud — Picton was too original, and dared to have a will of his own — Moore was too bold and therefore could not always be depended on — So that it came to pass that these brave men enjoyed but little of the Field Marschal's confidence — It should seem that the tactique of the camp was introduced into the Cabinet Obedience was the first and the last duty — and as Lord Wellesley was likely to have a will of his own he was voted a bore by this "Gold Lace and Pipe Clay" Administration. At a Cabinet Council each man took his place as at a drill. If they argued it was in Platoons — The great Martinet proposed the measures and

exclaimed, I am the law and the prophets the beginning and the ending — the great gun and the little fife — Corporal Peel who in his youth was strong at logic and the Coryphaeus of the Cabinet chorus responded "*Post hoc ergo propter hoc*" and lo! the measures passed without comment or opposition — and thus for two years was the Country governed and things went on from bad to worse till the burnings in Kent, the disturbances in Ireland, the infamous attempt to compromise the popularity of the King — the declaration against Reform — the ambiguous sentence about foreign interference, and the speech of Mr. Goulbourn on the Civil List, at length induced the Opposition backed by the spirit of the Country to propose that amendment for which 76 County Members voted while only 26 could be found recorded against it — A plain proof that the sense of the Country was against the Duke of Wellington

And now my Lord having placed the characters of the leading men of the last Ministry in juxta position with those of the present I will appeal to the great body of my Countrymen, as to which the preference should be given — For my own part I must avow that with me the question could never be one of comparison — For as a Statesman I can make no more comparison between Lord Grey and the Duke of Wellington than between your Lordship and Lord Aberdeen — And surely,

surely it would be an insult to Lord Althorpe to put his Lordship on a par with poor Mr. Goulbourn — Perhaps it may be said that Lord Melbourne has not the industry of Sir Robert Peel, but I am sure his Lordship has better abilities, as well as more extensive and more general information, and if he gets through the business of his office it is little matter to the public whether he does so in three hours in the day or in six. I will not enter into a detailed comparison between the two Chancellors. Lord Brougham at least is as good a lawyer as Lord Lyndhurst while he is infinitely that noble Lord's superior in general learning, and in eloquence; and immeasurably so in respectability of character. In Parliamentary talent there can be no comparison between Lord Lansdowne and Earl Bathurst. Lord Durham is to the full as efficient a public servant as Lord Rosslyn. It would be a profanation to compare Lord Holland to Mr. Arbuthnot and absolutely laughable to marshal that foolish Lord Ellenborough against Mr. Grant. In one thing certainly the Ex-President of the Board of Control transcends the present. Lord Ellenborough displays a better cut coat than Mr. Grant and it is evident his Lordship is at an enormous expense for Rowlands Macassar.

The Duke of Richmond is not a Beresford and that is saying a great deal for him. His Lordship is no apostate; but a frank and noble

hearted Tory, who speaks his mind out openly. I am not well acquainted with the talents of Lord Auckland: but I know that his Lordship is a better speaker and more efficient debater than Mr. Herries.

Is there any one of the ousted party — I might say any three — who can compare with Sir James Graham The spruce beer oratory of Mr. Croker — the modest assurance of Mr. Dawson — (shamefaced gentleman) and the dramatic postures of Mr. Horace Twiss will all melt into thin air before the playful the vigorous the keen and flowing oratory of the Right Honorable Baronet.

It is not only in such men that the present Ministry are strong for there are also in its train a number of practised and ready debaters Among others I may mention Mr. Stanley the Irish Secretary Mr. Robert Grant, Lord John Russell, Mr. Spring Rice, Mr. W. Wynn and Mr. Poulett Thompson who though extremely young has not too soon received the reward of extraordinary commercial and financial knowledge. Mr. Thomson is not only a promising speaker but a ready writer and his accession will be hailed with pleasure by the commercial and monied Interest.

In the Law the Administration beside the support of its own able officers will have that of Sir James Mackintosh together with his friend Mr. J. B. Macauley beyond all question the

most brilliant political writer of the day. The Barings and the Smiths the Representatives of the great monied interests will support the Government. The Smiths alone command six or seven votes and the Barings four or five. But this is nothing in comparison with the influence which these men have in the City and with the monied interest.

Yet with the favor of the King—the support of a great part of the Aristocracy, (of the members of which the Cabinet is entirely composed) with all or nearly all the talent of the Country in its favour and a great majority of the monied, and commercial Interests — it is not to be concealed from your Lordship that the Government will have to perform a very difficult task. It is not in the open highway but in the bye paths that they may be way laid and betrayed. It is not the full tide of Opposition which they have to dread but the insidious under current. No one knows better than your Lordship the fact that the dependants of the Liverpool and Castlereagh administrations have for nearly a quarter of a century enjoyed all the places in public offices and thus acquired from mere habit an experience, a tact, and a readiness which of necessity is not to be found among the Liberals and Whigs. *If Lord Grey trusts to these people already in the offices they will betray him as they before betrayed Mr.*

Canning and Lord Goderich. It would therefore be a fatal generosity — a suicidal magnanimity to allow them to remain. So long as the *quisquiliae* of the Wellington Cabinet are in the bureaus there is not a secret, not a Government paper of the contents of which the refuse of Londonderry, and the cast off of Dublin — together with his brother in misfortune the *respectable* Mr. William Holmes (with whom the Duke of Wellington walks about arm in arm) will not be informed as soon, nay perhaps sooner than the Ministers themselves. Out then with these gentry one and all if the Ministry consult their own stability — Better ten thousand times better, to trust to the inexperienced fidelity of Liberals and Whigs, than to fall thus ingloriously by ignoble instruments and unworthy means — Besides it is the duty of a Government to look to its supporters and to place them in responsible posts. — How many men are there in Parliament and at the Bar whose promotion has been stopped, who have known, "that sickness of the heart which ariseth from hope deferred" — because of their opinions. It is the duty — it is the interest of Lord Grey to put these men into all the Offices. — If he permits the head of any department to be filled by a retainer of the Wellington administration sooner or later he will repent him of his generosity.

Much as this system of change is necessary at home, it is still more so abroad — Lord Stuart de Rothesay at Paris — Sir Charles Bagot at the Hague — Lord Cowley at Vienna — Mr. Henry Unwin Addington at Madrid — Mr. Mackenzie at Portugal Lord Burghersh at Naples Mr. Robert Gordon at the Porte are all too deeply leagued with the late Government to be permitted to retain their posts — Mr. Robert Adair, the friend of Mr. Fox, and formerly our ambassador at the Porte is still alive; and Lord Granville and Sir Frederick Lamb are in the “prime and lust” of life — Here in Bavaria, the name of the ambassador affords a *garantée* for his principles. — The illustrious father of Lord Erskine was the early friend of the Premier and surely the Son will not forget the lessons which he learned in his youth — While on this subject I may remark that the *Attachés* at many of the European Courts (I do not allude to Bavaria at which the *Attaché* the first Catholic in the situation bears a very high character) are no credit to England — They have hitherto been selected not with a reference to their talents or acquirements, but to their parliamentary and family interest — And what is the result? — That that which England has gained by the sword she has lost in negociation. The Russians who transcend all nations in astuteness and knowledge of languages — and

the French who have a happy talent of talking people round — laugh heartily at our *Corps diplomatique* — All these matters are in the department of your Lordship — You are already aware of the facts ; and there can be no doubt that you will lend to them your best attention with a view to a speedy and efficacious remedy.

It is now fitting that I should say a few words on the foreign policy of England. That policy according to the declaration of the Premier will be based on non interference and a sincere desire to maintain peace so far as is consistent with the honor and interest of England — These sentiments have been since reiterated in a more formal manner by the Lord High Chancellor in his farewell address to the freeholders of the County of York — That this policy differs totally from that of the last Cabinet the speech from the Throne of England, as well as that of the King of the Netherlands to the States-General sufficiently demonstrates. But there is more pregnant testimony — Your Lordship has read the interesting recital of Mr. Van de Weyer to the Belgian Congress, and the account of that gentleman's interview with Lord Aberdeen. After the strong language used on this occasion by his Lordship can any one doubt that the intention of the late Cabinet — or rather

of the Duke of Wellington — for he was King, Lords, Commons, Cabinet, and all — can any one doubt the desire and the determination to interfere? — If there are such I refer them to *Mr. de Montalivet's*, (the French Minister for the Interior) notification to the *Bourse* of Paris of the change which had taken place in the English Ministry — The commercial world (I quote from memory for here I have access to neither papers or documents of any kind which can assist me in my task) "The commercial world says *M. de Montalivet* will find in this change a guarantee for peace."

M. de Montalivet knew of course the disposition of the English Government. He had access as Minister to all their communications to his Cabinet — he had the most ample revelations from *Prince Talleyrand* at London, a personage the least likely in the world to be mistaken, and yet this Minister with all these aids to help his judgment had evidently formed the conclusion that if the Wellington Administration lasted, peace would not be preserved "The new Government affords a guarantee" This is the substance of the French Ministers words.

Now this notification was useful or not, useful and at all events — it was most unusual, and out of the ordinary course of diplomatic practice. What then are we to conclude? That the French Minister a man of great talents and clear understanding went most unusually

out of his way — stepped beyond the pale of Diplomatic Etiquette — to notify to the Bourse a fact perfectly useless if the late Cabinet and the present were of accord on the subject of Peace, or that the French Minister deeming the policy of the old and the new Cabinet to be widely different; — deeming the old to be for interference which in its results must lead to war; — and the new to be for non interference which must present a guarantee for the preservation of peace; — thought this difference to be of such extreme importance to the Commerce of France as to take the most unusual course of notifying it to the Bourse with his own comments. This I confess is the light in which I am disposed to view the matter and doubtless the archives of the foreign office will supply your Lordship with abundant materials for a similiar conclusion.

But then shall we have peace or shall we have war? This is the Question. No doubt the interests of England Agricultural, as well as Commercial and Monied, demand repose and cry aloud for peace. So far as depends on the English Ministry the wishes of the people will be carried into effect, but then there are considerations extrinsic to the English people, and to the English Ministry.

So far as the preservation of peace depends upon the Ministry of France, and the intelli-

gent and sober minded portion of the French population — there can be no doubt too, that all efforts will be made to preserve peace.

France since her Revolution of 1830 has displayed a forbearance, a self abstinence — a moderation, of which the wisdom and the magnanimity cannot be too highly extolled. In walking in this “path of peace” she has had from the more ardent of her own youth, and from some of the fiery spirits of other nations, to encounter much obloquy; but let her notwithstanding hold on in her course — In a war the issue of which no one living can foresee, the dynasty of to day may be unsettled to make room for the dynasty of tomorrow; — *Mr. de Kergolay* may in his turn retaliate on his late Judges; and the Saint Simonians in an extacy of sanctified agrarianism may lay hold of the “goods and chattels” of *Mr. Lafitte*. The unchained dogs once let slip may devour their keepers. Let the French Ministry then hold on. Let the French people for some season repose on their Laurels. They can afford to do so in any event, and now it is their interest. Their abstinence will be their Aegis and their strength. Let them not be prompt to strike the first blow; for wo! wo! unto the peace breakers.

My Lord much has been said on the hostile disposition of Prussia. Much too on

the disaffection which reigns in her Rhenane provinces. Give not heed my Lord, lend no willing ear to these Reports. I have just journeyed through the Rhenane provinces of Prussia and no disaffection reigns there. On the contrary the great hody of the people from Cologne to Coblentz are better fed, better clad, more contented, and more happy than the people of Eugland and the person of Frederik William is just as popular as that four our beloved sovereign.

The fortress of Ehrenbreitstein begun in 1826 is now nearly finished. A chain of Forts each complete in itself, has been constructed from the town of Coblentz in the most commanding situations while the walls of that city remain in their primitive state. This great work grows out of the Rock. It is 472 feet above the confluence of the Rhine, the Moselle and the Tahn — In the fortress are several thousand Barrells of Flour with three wells of different sorts of water by the aid of which they can make bread. An Iron Rail Road communicates with the Rhine by which in a few minutes any quantity of Canon or provision can be let down or drawn up. — The land side of this fortress can be destroyed by the garrison within retreating ot the water side. But the reparation of Ehrenbreitstein was commenced long before the late troubles and

its garrison even now is not on a war footing.

It is said in some of the Continental newspapers and repeated in some of our own that the Prussian Troops, are disaffected. I have on the spot endeavoured to find out the truth of this report, but I protest my Lord I was unable to discover any disaffection; and if such exists — which I do not believe — it must be without cause. The pay of a Prussian Soldier is about 29 Pfennings a day, equal I believe to three pence halfpenny of our Money. The Prussian Troops are well clad, and well fed, and altogether as fine a looking body of men, as any in the world. It is quite true that Prussia like every other continental state has been making demonstrations and putting her garisons on the footing of war, and certainly her proximity to Belgium affords her a full justification for so doing; but that Prussia is anxious for war I do not believe. On the contrary I am sure that nothing but actual necessity. — nothing but some circumstance implicating her national honor would induce her to take the field. For she has need of repose to nurture the germs of those Institutions and that Commerce which her king is desirous to foster.

Austria, my Lord is in no way directly compromised by the events in Belgium. It is true that she pours her Hungarian Regiments into her Lombardo Venetian provinces; but has she not

the right to do so? With this we have nothing to do — The Italans submit to her sway, and though she may retain their Allegiance in a time of peace it would be more difficult for her to preserve it in a time of war. The interests then, and I believe the wishes of Austria are decidedly for peace. Would I could say as much for Russia! But no! she is the great propellant of the other powers. That her fiery words may sleep in the ear of sovereigns, and particularly in the ear of Frederick William should be every Christians wish. To counteract not alone these fiery words — but these warlike counsels should be the Statesmans aim.

The letter of the emperor Nicholas to Louis Philip King of the French puts the Imperial sentiments "en plein jour" — But were there any doubts about the words the deeds of the autocrat would fully unravel them. For Russia already concentrates her forces in Poland: and Prussia at the Imperial instance occupies the line of the Wesel to Saar Louis with an army of 90,000 men. During the course of these demonstrations I pray your Lordship to observe that Field Marshal Count Diebitch not a Prussian Officer, but a successful Russian General with his honors recently acquired in Turkey fresh upon him, remains at Berlin and is in active communication with the king. During General

Count Diebitch'sh's sojourn the Landwehr of 1831 is called into service by anticipation, so that the active troops of Prussia now amount to 529,600 men. Think not my Lord that this is of the mere motion of Prussia. Oh no! Spurs are put into her unwilling sides by a great northern power, connected by family ties with the deposed House of Orange. The Princess Anne has no doubt sought to incense her brother against the Belgians; but Nicholas has of his own motion displayed "splendid bile" enough against Revolutionary movements. He has ordered every Russian to leave France and refused every Frenchman admission into Russia.

Nothwith standing however all the desires of the Russian Cabinet to precipitate a crisis it is not very likely that we shall have immediate war. But how long peace may last no man living can tell. Providence of late seems to have visited those numerous hordes who only seek the opportunity of a descent into the south and west of Europe with an awful infliction which may stay their steps for some time longer: and as to Prussia though her army be large as I have detailed to your Lordship, her treasury is not flourishing. The Jews my Lord are no longer generous to Sovereigns — They will not advance a doit even on large usance. The sons of Israel well know that if war commences no one

can say where it may end. And they prefer retaining, what they have gotten whether well or ill, to the risk of losing all. The Rothschilds are already Barons. The force of Judaism can no further go, and therefore their purse is closed. Old opinions may conquer in the struggle, or may be vanquished — but one thing alone is certain and that is, that the Rothchilds will keep their money to themselves.

Will Prussia then turn to England? She might have done so during the late administration; but the new Ministry has pronounced for Peace and the men of Lombard street will follow in the wake of Government.

I have thus considered the *pro's* and *cons* without pronouncing any positive opinion for in truth no positive opinion can be pronounced. In these times the sagacity of the wisest Statesman is but a mitigated blindness. Who could have foretold the Revolutions of July and of September, and who can say to what the question of the Dutchy of Luxembourg may lead?

The embarrassment of this question would not have arisen but for the Truck and Barter System pursued at the Congress of Vienna by a noble Lord, who to use Lord Byron's description governed Parliament in the language of Mrs. Malaprop and who we should think must from the incongruous medley of States which he

sought to fuse together, have been mainly ignorant of the geography, as he certainly was of the opinions and feelings of the people of Europe. In ceding the Netherlands to Holland, we received to balance the account the Cape of Good Hope and Trincomalee but who is there seeing the wars into which we *may* plunged (I do not say that we *will* be) on the subject of these same Netherlands and the Dutchy of Luxembourg who will not balance the profit of the bargain against the possible loss?

To the Belgians I would address a few words, and in so doing I will take pains that they may be heard and understood. With the quarrell of that people with their sovereign, I as an Englishman have nothing to do. They have voted the exclusion of the family of Orange, and one would suppose that a nation in so doing must have well considered that it was for its benefit.

That Belgium should govern herself as she pleases no one contests except Holland. But in order to become recognised by other powers as a Nation she must respect the faith of Treaties however incongruous and however absurd. If she wishes to consolidate her institutions, to be respected at home and abroad; nay even to be acknowledged; let her preserve Treaties inviolate. Her public men well know that the political existence of Luxembourg of which the territory has undergone many modifications

was changed by the treaty of the 31 May 1815. They well know it was not given to the House of Nassau by the same title as the other Belgie provinces, but as a compensation for the principalities of Nassau-Dillenburg, Siegen and Dietz ceded to Prussia. They well know that by this treaty the Duchy of Luxembourg was created a grand Duchy of which the King of Holland was made grand Duke, and as such a member of the German Confederation. More than this they are aware that the town of Luxembourg was declared a fortress of that Confederation. How then without embroiling themselves with the German diet can they seek to make the grand Dutchy a part of Belgium?

It is true that it was as Belgians that the Inhabitants of Luxembourg lived under the dominion of Spain and of Ausiria. It is true that it was as such by the law of the thenth *Vendimiare* passed in the year 5 that they were with the left bank of the Rhine ceded to France by the Treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville. It is true perhaps also that in effect, — though not in name, — that it was as Belgians the Luxembourgeois were detached from France in 1814. But the Congress of Vienna which so detached this Duchy erected it (wheter wisely or not events will decide more certainly than I. can pronounce) into a grand Duchy and Fortress of the German Confederation. Thus the pride and the power

of the diet are interested in the maintenance of its integrity.

In the Germanic Diet as your Lordship knows there are in all 17 votes; but its resolves are determined by the votes of the 11 Powers which follow. 1 Austria, 2 Prussia, 3 Bavaria, 4 Saxony, 5 Hannover, 6 Wurtemberg, 7 Baden, 8 Electoral Hesse, 9 the grand Dutchy of Hesse, 10 Denmark (which has a vote for the German province of Holstein) and 11 Holland which has a vote right of that very in Luxembourg of which I. am treating.

To the deliberations of the German Diet then all eyes are turned. As a member of that Diet and Duke of Luxembourg the King of Holland will no doubt cry lustily for help if the Belgians do not renounce their pretensions to the occupation of the fortress. His Majesty will invoke Treaties and call on his Brethern to arm; and if that call be obeyed (which heaven forefend) a general war may arise the duration, the extent, the consequences of which, no one can foresee.

The efforts of the Ministry of France and of the landed and commercial Aristocracy of that Country to prevent this collision are worthy of all praise: — but it is not to be denied that there is a great body of ardent and discontented spirits in that country — propelled by national vanity — by ambition — by the desire of change and the hope of distinction, who are not of accord

with these pacific efforts of the Ministry and who make the cry of an extension of frontier the patriotic cover for selfish and personal desigus. When the French Ministry however shall have received an accession of strength from a more intimate union with the new English Ministry they may authoritatively bid these disturbers to cease from troubling and to remain at rest.

To return to the Belgians. These fiery spirits in justifications of ther conduct contend that the conditions imposed on the King of Holland by the Treaty of Vienna have not been fullfilled by that Monarch to the letter. In other words they allege that the fortress of Luxembourg should have received a Belgic and Prussian garison, and that this last condition was never fulfilled, Luxembourg having been only occupied by Prussian Troops. On this omission of the King of Holland the Belgians ground their right of occupation, and say that Belgium separated from Holland but not separated from the Dutchy of Luxembourg should have the right to garison that fortress, as a barrier to maintain their Independence. True say they the King of Holland renounced this right which mainly concerned the surety of Belgium on the side of France but Belgium cannot be concluded by the laches of the King of Holland; of that very King who declared

by the fundamental Law of 1815 and the Law that of the 25 May 1816 he would consider Luxembourg as inseparable from the Low Countries; and especially from Belgium of which it served to cover the frontiers on the side of Thionville and Longwy. If then say they the King considered the fortress as inseparable why should he seek to separate it to day, for the Inhabitants of the Dutchy have submitted to the same Laws to the same administration to the same abuses as the other Belgians. Their Militia has been incorporated with the Belgic Regiments; their imposts have been paid at the same bureaus and entered in the same Books, and more than this Belgians have been called to fill offices in Luxembourg and natives of Luxembourg to fill offices in Belgium. Their common Deputies have co-operated in one common work of making laws for the whole Kingdom: — have felt one common discontent under the Government of the King of Holland and one common joy at its overthrow. Why then they triumphantly ask should not we the Belgians retain this fortress so necessary to our Independence and Strength? Those who thus argue however make a little mistake. They forget that in 1817 (during the administration of Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh) the King of Holland on the intervention of England ceded to the King of Prussia the right of naming the Commander of Luxembourg, and further that

Prussia should retain this power so long as the general garrison was composed, three fourths of Prussians and one fourth of Belgians; the garrison always to amount to a force of 6,000 strong.

It is most of all the interest of Belgium to respect this arrangement till a Congress shall otherwise decide. Should she respect it I do firmly believe no nation will interfere in the dispute between her and Holland. She may go on in the course of improving her institutions acknowledged by all and respected for her moderation. Should she pursue a different line of conduct she puts her own existence in jeopardy; and perhaps the whole of Europe in War. And let her not think that the French Ministry will give her any countenance in the infraction of Treaties. Whatever may be the disposition or the wishes of a part of the French people who have nothing to lose and something to gain by a War — let her rest assured that all the wealth of France and nearly all the intelligence would make sacrifices which she little dreams of for the maintenance of Peace.

As to England her course of foreign Policy is plain. Peace and non Interference so far as the national honor will permit. In these sentiments Great-Britain will be joined by the Cabinet of France and by all the sound and wholesome part of the public opinion in that Country. In prescribing to herself however a self denial to which great Britain has not been

habituated, she will be joined by France in *exacting* the same self denial on the part of other Countries. However much England may regret individually or collectively events which deprive the family of Orange of domains which they erroneously considered as their birth right; still she must bow to the supremacy of that public opinion which in her own instance placed the family of Nassau and of Brunswick on the throne.

Nor can France less respect a principle which she has followed in the case of Louis Philip.

In all that I have hitherto said in the matter of the Dutchy of Luxembourg, I have argued on the supposition that the people of the Dutchy were of accord in spirit and in feeling with those Treaties made by powers ignorant perhaps of their feelings and at all events extrinsic from their soil. But if it shall turn out that the Luxembourgeois themselves are discontent with their lot, which I am informed is the case; if they wish to make common cause with the Belgians and really to break the bonds by which they have been tied by the Congress of Vienna — this wish if openly — energetically and manfully expressed — might, and doubtless would afford to England and France an argument against the interference of the German Diet; and an argument too which might not in vain be addressed to the due consideration of that body.

It would be a lamentable thing to find the whole Continent in arms for so paltry a thing as the Dutchy of Luxembourg. If the majority of the inhabitants are for the King of Holland it would by the height of criminality in the Provisional Government to attempt to hold by force that which by the same means will inevitably be wrested from them. If on the contrary the Luxembourgeois declare with one accord as I beleve they do, for the Belgians the King of Holland should yield with a good grace that which he cannot retain. If some arrangement be not speedily come to the great powers may find ere long all their forces in array on Belgic ground. Prussia may be entrusted by the Diet to compel the observance of Treaties while England and France leagued together and; together INVINCIBLE, though all the World were against them, may also appear to compel that strict non interference of which they are both the rare examples.

"The Douglas and the Percy both together"

, "Are confident against a World in Arms."

Among the consequences of that change of Ministry concerning which I write I will not conceal from your Lordship that, not the least gratifying to me is the Prospect of a more intimate Union between England and France. From the Revolution of 1688 till the present day (excepting the two

short intervals when Mr. Fox and Mr. Canning were at the head of Affairs) when there was not actual War between England and France, at least an illdisguised Hostility prevailed — Ynt neither in these wars nor in that Hostility had the people of either Country thn least possible interest.

Mr. Fox (whose principles four and twenty years after his death again triumph) was the first to perceive this unnatural position between two Countries whose real union must have rendered both indomitable. Almost the first act of this great Statesman was through the means of a nobleman (lately the the Confidant of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Holmes in their Electioneering Schemes) to procure that good understanding so necessary to the welfore of both Countries. The character of the negociator being little favorable to the project Mr. Fox deemed the matter so important as to make a Journey afterwards to Paris. But death stepped between this great man and the fame of such an atchievement and cut him off before the accomplishment of a wish for the realization of which he had always laboured whether in, or out of power.

Mr. Canning your Lordships friend, (whose loss the writer on personal not less than on public grounds has reason to deplore) followed in the steps of Mr. Fox. He too made

advances to the French Government and undertook a journey to Paris: — but though hailed with a merited enthusiasm and applause by the French people, the English Minister was not met in the same frank and cordial spirit by the French Government.

For Lord Grey and for your Lordship this great task has been reserved. Count Flahaut it is here reported has already borne to the king of the French and his Ministry the wishes of England on this Subject.

What a change in the space of one fortnight! Two little weeks ago the French believed and with some reason that the English Ministry looked with an unfriendly eye upon them; now the best understanding prevails between both people; for they have but one common Interest.

Will Russia then if she can find breathing time between the Revolution of Poland and the grievous malady with which her people is afflicted; — will she venture to cope with the united strength of England and France? If so she is undone, and the word Autocrat will be but the Signification of a thing that was, but which here after shall be extinguished for ever! —

The Emperor Nicholas may too late learn that there is no school like a Campaign. If the hordes of Courland and the Crimea pour into Europe they will be beaten back; but

they will no longer feel and think like Courlanders and Cossacks. In marching through other Countries and coming into contact with the natives, they will learn to think and feel like them, and finally they may come to the not unreasonable conclusion that kings and Emperors were made for the people, and not the people for kings and Emperors.

Hitherto my Lord no Explanations appear to have been demanded by France of Russia; nor has England that I am aware of asked for any. But France and England may conjointly ask for Explanations now, and not dread the advent of the Russ if he be minded to move. But let me whisper in his Ear "that the better part of Valour is discretion" If these wise monitions avail not, why then let him come on, and learn for a practical truth — a proposition as clear as any in Euclid—that England and France together are more than a match for all the world in Arms. The motto of England is peace with all; with France friendship. Then wo! wo! unto him who shall strike against either the first blow.

But will this blow be struck? In my opinion, and as far as my limited means allow me to judge, it will not. Russia I know is right "willing to wound" but the events in Poland will make her fear to strike. Diebitch will now be needed at home. He must hie him back from Berlin to his Master.

Without the support and Countenance of Russia, Prussia can do little. Nor with it could she do much unless England wasted in affording the sinews of war, those resources of which she has need at home. Hear then ye embryo Field Marshals who thirst for Glory, that the days of subsidies and subsidizing are for ever gone! Buckle on, not your armour, but a smock frock; and seize not the Sword but a Pruning Hook for the God of Battles will have peace.

Of domestic Politics I have left myself little room to speak.

The Government of Lord Grey is solemnly and I believe sincerely pledged. — 1st To a correction of those abuses which have crept into the representation of the people in Parliament, and 2ndly to an unsparing retrenchment in the Public Establishments. In commencing the good work of Reform his Lordship will have to encounter much obloquy, but the New Ministry have shewn that they practice the doctrine which they preach by reducing their own Salaries a third. Such a Ministry will not surely allow the abominations of Gatton and old Sarum to stand; nor will they suffer Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Brighton and many other towns to remain unrepresented.

During the late General Election there was scarcely a borough of any note which had not a couple of Agents in London from the rival

factions within it, and the grent object of these fellows (who were generally pettifogging attornies) was to lay hold of some Gentleman dupe who was always plucked but not always returned. These gentry went to work too in the most safe and secure manner. They required the money (*Argent comptant*) to be lodged in some Bank before they moved a step in the business. Let us hope that this system of corruption may be done away with. Its abolition will tend to correct that tendency of the English System — a system whose main spring is — to make the rich man richer, und the poor man poower.

In most of the Counties of England and in all of the Boroughs, Fortune not Talent is the Passport to respect. The invariable qnestion when a new Candidate presents himself, is not whether or not such a man has talent, information, energy or the desire to do good, but what is his rent roll — is his property in the Funds or in Land — in fine how much can he pay us for our Votes? — Much of this has arisen no doubt from the money loving Spirit of the people but more from the Spirit of the Law. — The Law itself requires no intellectual Qualificatlon whatever, but only a Qualification in Land. This is manifestly unjust and it works an injustice to many who are not represented in the National Council.

In France men of Science and Literature abound in both the Chambers, but in the English House of Commons there is hardly one man of Science or at least of Scientific pursuits, and very few, if any men of Literature properly so called. — This does not by any means arise from the indisposition of such men to take part in National affairs but from the nature of the Qualification required of them. — Some change should be made in this respect. Why should not the Barrister who makes L. 600 a year by his Profession, or the Merchant who makes L. 600 a year by his Trade be eligible to sit in the Commons as well as the man whose possession of this sum in land, is but the accident of an accident. The worst of the Law as it exists is, that it opens a door to a disreputable evasion which is daily, practised; not indeed by men of Science or of Literature, but by others whom it would be needless to name.

Let this Qualification Law at least as regards Frechold property be abolished and Lord Grey will find in the event of the present House of Commons proving restive on the subject of Reform — that a new race of Candidates for Parliament will rise up whose intelligence and aptitude for business it would be a profanation to compare with many of those who now sit in the Commons

House "they know not why and care not wherefore."

With a House of Commons constituted as the present is there may be some difficulty in carrying the Question of Reform — Should the Premier experience this difficulty it is easy to dissolve and appeal to the nation. Among the people there is but one opinion on the necessity of the measure and every day brings new Converts to the system of the Ballot.

Never was there a Monarch under whose reign fewer obstacles present themselves to a reduction of the Civil-List. — Our beloved Sovereign has no need of Household Regiments and Guards; for there is not a man bearing the name of Englishman who would not lay down his life to protect his Majesty. — Besides King William is not environed by abandoned and rapacious favorites who turn the misplaced favor of their Monarch into gold. — King William in fine is not a bad and most expensive architect, but the Constitutional Monarch of a Free people.

Great relief I have no doubt will be given to the Community by a different distribution of the Taxes and a more just application of their produce.

Mr. Poulett Thomson the new Vice President of the Board of Trade is thoroughly competent to this task. He will cause the

springs of productive Industry to play more freely, and direct the attention of our Merchants to the new mart opened for their produce in the supply of Belgium.

On the India Question Mr. Thomson stands pledged. He is the foe of all Monopolies and of that worst of Monopolies the Corn Monopoly. In discussing all matters of Trade and Finance his practical knowledge must be of infinite service: Mr. Pitt on subjects of this kind was often the dupe of interested speculators. Mr. Thomson is beyond the necessity of resorting to these people for information and he will therefore without doubt be inaccessible to their influence. To the renewal of the Bank Charter he will with the House and the Country be opposed, and during the recess his time cannot be better employed than in devising some improvement in our absurd Laws relating to Banking.

No one is better persuaded than Lord Grey of the necessity of reduction in our Diplomatic Establishment. That gross job at the Hague will of course be pruned down—and Sir Charles Bagot recalled. The "*Il fanatico per la Musica*" will doubtless be replaced at Naples by some sane and effective Resident.

A man of mind like your Lordship must find the communications of these *fainéants* "weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable". How

differently is Russia served! How differently America! —

The best proof of the good intentions of Lord Grey towards Ireland is afforded by the reinstatement of Lord Anglesea and the removal of Mr. Gregory. For the last twenty Years no matter who was Viceroy Mr. Gregory governed Ireland. Lord Wellesley can recount to your Lordship how he was thwarted and deceived by Mr. Gregory; and Mr. Canning were he alive could also unfold a nice little plot concocted at the Castle of Dublin against his Ministry by this person, "then and there" receiving the public money. — Mr. Frankland Lewis is still among us though Mr. Canning be dead, and Mr. Frankland Lewis knows the obstacles which he met as a Commissioner of Education and of Enquiry in both of which situations (notwithstanding the paltry and furious opposition of certain underlings of Dublin Castle) he did his duty to the public.

In removing Mr. Gregory then Lord Grey has done his duty to the people of Ireland. His Lordship will enhance his services and entitle himself to the gratitude of civilized Europe by introducing a provision for the poor in that country. Let him not heed the clamours of Irish Landlords but proceed straight forward in this work.

I had intended to say something of the Irish subletting act, and of the endeavours

lately making in the United kingdom to introduce large farms to the exclusion of the race of small proprietors. These efforts I regret to say are seconded with great but I think mistaken zeal by the editor of a London Journal, whose information is very profound and very various. I allude to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*. My experience of many states on the Continent leads me to a very different conclusion from that of this gentleman. I have observed in various Countries that where large farms exist there is more of wretchedness and a worse cultivation. In the Campagna of Rome and the large tract of Papal Territory from that City to Terracina, the farms are all large, and it would be difficult even in Ireland to find such wretchedness. What a different picture does the face of Tuscany and Lucca present! In each of these States the farms are small. In Lucca the extent varies from two to ten acres, and I doubt if in the World there is such a complete garden as that small state presents. In the Canton of Berne too, and along the line of that fertile Country from the Lake of Thun to the Capital Berne, the farms are all small; and an improved husbandry, as well as Contentment and Wealth are in an inverse rate to the extent of land in individual possession. So it is generally speaking through Switzerland, Flanders and even Rhe-

nane Prussia. — So it is in Wirtemberg where the farms are smaller than in Bavaria or Baden. Why therefore should not the same System prevail in England and Ireland? Much of the distress in Ireland — much of the burning in England is I have no doubt owing to the prevalence of overgrown farms. Those who were formerly small proprietors are now in the Condition of daily Labourers, and they view the change operated in their own persons with discontent.

While the new Ministry devotes all its energy to the suppression of the burnings, it will also without doubt assist every enquiry which can improve the relation of Landlord and Tenant, or which can tend to ameliorate the condition of the Labouring Classes.

In Ireland Lord Grey will seek to relieve the people from the local oppression of Corporations and the Church. He will doubtless make some more equable distribution of the Revenues of an Establishment in which the drones of Episcopacy devour the Substance of the Widow and the Orphan while the really pious exemplary and working Clergy are left to starve. He will take care that the Funds provided for National Education are justly distributed. He will not like his predecessor use all official influence to throw out the Galway Franchise Act to please (to use Lord Greys own words) *one* Mr. James Daly. Oh

no! the present Premier is too honorable and upright a nobleman to lend himself to such a job as this, merely because Mr. Daly is the private friend of Sir Robert Peel.

When the people of Ireland shall see the Government administered in such a fair and impartial spirit; by men in whom they may confide—by men who have never abandoned Principle for place—by men who unlike their predecessors were not against the Catholic Question yesterday and for it today—when the people of Ireland shall see Justice administered as I really believe it will be administered by the existing Government, fairly impartially—paternally and for all—then will these cries for a Repeal of the Union cease;—then will then the people of Ireland be convinced that their true policy is to sustain and support a Government whose only object is the well being and prosperity of both Countries.

In such a season and I believe it near at hand, let us hope that neither Mr. O'Connell nor Mr. Hume will be found on the Opposition Benches, or if they still remain there, that Opposition which heretofore was legitimate will be pronounced by all honest Men to be personal or factious, or both.

In such a season too the Scipio de Ricci of Ireland will no longer write Politics, nor be drawn as he complains he has been of late, into a discussion averse from his Ministry his habits

and his tastes; a discussion which however differently intended, must have the effect of embarrassing the Ministry.

Of Doctor Doyle personally I know nothing. I have never laid my eyes upon him; and perhaps I never may. But thousands of miles from the sphere of his action I have read with pleasure not only his Political but his Polemical Tracts. I believe him to be the only Catholic Bishop or Minister who is capable of doing any great or extensive benefit for his Country. First, because he is immeasurably in advance of his fellows, secondly because he thinks for himself independently of the Court of Rome, and thirdly because I have been told that his popularity arises from his good works. Now under the Ministry of Lord Grey a noble career is opened for such a man. Let him rest assured that his proposal for the Union of the Protestant and Catholic Churches is not forgotten. Here is a theme for him, on which he may expatiate with honor to himself and with advantage not only to the Empire at large, but to all Christendom. Let him again commence [the discussion of this theme despite the sneers that will be cast upon him by the low, the ignorant and the bigotted of his own Communion; and let him not despair of success, for yet stranger events have occurred in our time. Let him remember that in the

Cities of Germany there is little difference between the *exterior* of the Lutheran and the Catholic Religion, and still less in the doctrines as professed by the *enlightened* Ministers of both. In the time of Charles the 5th before religious disputes were adjusted a truce was agreed on between the Reformers and the Catholics under the title of *Interim*. The conditions of their agreement stipulated that the ornaments, the vestments and some of the ceremonies should remain till by a General Council religious peace was finally concluded. This *Interim* as it was called was fully adopted in Frankfort, Leipsic and others of the free Cities where the Churches though still in the possession of Lutherans retain all the ornaments of Roman Catholic times. In Frankfort the great Lutheran Church differs but little from any decorously decorated Church at Rome itself; and in many other parts of Germany so little is the difference in the exterior of some of the Churches that, oftentimes the Lutheran service is performed in the Catholic Church; and the Catholic service in the Lutheran. In England hitherto the efforts of Statesmen have been directed not to prove how much the two religions agree, but, how much they differ. But times are now changed; and certainly Doctor Doyle may do much more service to his Country by amalgamating the two Religions than by separating

or seeking to separate the two Countries. Should he not be met in a reciprocal spirit the fault will not be his; but whether he be so met or not, he is well aware that there is much in the discipline of Catholicism in Ireland which needs amendment. At Rome the Catholic Religion is no longer what it was; but the Irish like the Belgians have always been more Catholic than the Pope himself. The Catholicism of Ireland is not the Catholicism of enlightened France or Germany; much less is it that which Leopold sought to introduce into Tuscany and Joseph into Austria. Doctor Doyle is well aware of this; and he can certainly make many improvements without any fear of an Irish Cardinal Ruffo or a *posse* of Hibernian Aretines from the "houseless wilds" of Connemara. Here then is a work in this Prelates way quite worthy of him; and if he do not in the end succeed in his great aim of uniting the two Churches he may at least render them so alike that the witty remark of Sir Richard Steele will hold for a true description. The only difference between the Catholic and the Protestant Churches says Sir Richard is, "that while the Catholic Church is infallible the Protestant is never in the wrong."

For a moment I have wandered from my subject but my principal motive for doing so was, to notice certain strictures of Doctor Doyle which have just met my eye and which

though evidently directed against the Wellington administration will I dare say be artfully turned by their enemies against the existing Government.

My task is now performed. I trust I have clearly proved that the late Ministry deserved to fall. That it was a Ministry of shifts, and expediency, guided by no enlightened views, is very evident. All the good which it performed was unwillingly wrung from it while its evil was all its own. It struck off the fetters of the Dissenter not from any conviction in favor of Religious Liberty, but because the sense of the Country was loudly expressed against the continuance of persecution in matters of opinion. Had Mr. Peel thought that the then Government could have had a majority of two in the cause of Intolerance Mr. Peel had been intolerant still; and the Ministerial Benches had cheered the pompous nothings of the smiling self satisfied over grown School Boy (preposterously by a part of the public and most impudently by his retainers) — called Statesman.

The success of the Catholic Question followed that of the Dissenters as a matter of course. If it was not carried by the Duke of Wellington, the Duke would long since have been driven from power which he loves well, and Sir Robert Peel and his relatives would have lost some sixteen or Twenty Thousand pounds

of the public Money, which they love even better than the Duke loves power. Sir Robert Peel therefore lent his aid to the Catholic cause against conviction; and Mr. Dawson he best knew why.

Such were the merits of the Wellington Ministry. These were its defects. It struck the greatest blow that ever was struck against public confidence. It taught the English people to put no faith in promises. It taught them that principles might be used as play things to be taken up and laid down at pleasure. — It taught them that Deceit, and Simulation and Impenetrable Disguise, and abnegation of the very work in hand even till the twelfth hour, were the strategies of British Statesman in the Year of our Lord 1829. In perfecting Religious liberty it destroyed public Morals. It performed a holy work in a most unhallowed fashion. But it has its reward. It is extinct and for ever! The regenerated Catholic loathes his deliverer, and the Moral Christian exclaims. "Behold the reward of him who does evil that good may come of it." Thank God for this exhibition. The shade of injured Canning would not be appeased without it. I can fancy some of the late Ministry, (the world will know the men) to have exclaimed in a chuckle of self satisfaction when the Bill of 1829 had passed — "Now at least we have cheated the whigs — now "their occupation is gone" — now they have not a grievance

left to complain of" — Short sighted mortals! Lefthanded Politicians! The whigs are now in power, and you have contributed to put them in. You have saved them the trouble of carrying their own Question by carrying it yourselves, but by such means as in the end hurled you from office, and destroyed for ever your character with the Country.

Such my Lord is the language I have always held regarding the domestic policy of the late Ministry; at home; and abroad; in public; and in private, as those who know me will freely admit. I am not one of those who always abide by success; for when the Duke of Wellington's Ministry was deemed immoveable I denounced it with the same hearty hatred which I do now. In it's palmy days it's vengeance had no terrors for me; and I disregard it's vengeance now. I am not versed in Flattery; neither am I one of that more rash than brave class "who say more in a day than they stand to in a Month" But what I aver, that I will maintain at all times, — in all places, and at all risks. I do aver then that bad as the Domestic Policy of the Duke of Wellington's Ministry was, its Foreign Policy was open to more suspicion. The tendency of that Policy was to enslave the people of England — to make the autocrat of Russia the arbiter of what was fitting and proper for the most enlightened as well as

the freest people in the world. Had the Hero of Waterloo remained in power we should without doubt have been involved in a war; and yoked to the car of the Holy alliance, we should have expended our Blood and Treasure to maintain as eternal, the state of Europe as fixed by Wellington and Castlereagh in 1815. To this end we should have been leagued with Russia, Prussia, Austria, Spain and Portugal in making common cause against Freedom of thought and of opinion: — but the abettors of Foreign Despotism, — and the unconvinced apostates — have fallen — and their allies in the midst of meditations against the whole of Europe have found warm work at home to occupy their thoughts during the passing winter and the coming spring.

Thus it is that man proposes while God disposes all. The Duke of Wellington can now enter into no treaty with Nicholas; and Nicholas himself is detained on the frontiers of his dominions by events the natural consequence of the most flagitious partition of which ancient or modern story makes mention.

But independently my Lord of the permanency, or of the prostration of the abettors of Foreign despotism and that worst of treason treason to ones own party and to ones own principles (for Sir Robert Peel said he was not convinced even when bringing in the Catholic Bill) the system of Europe as established by

Lords Wellington and Castlereagh could not last, and accordingly from day to day we see it crumbling into ruins. The crimes of nations as of Individuals recoil upon themselves, and it seems to be ordained as a fitting punishment that the great Captain shall see the edifice which he contributed to erect tumble about his ears ere he shall descend to the tomb.

The Political Hemisphere of England for a time overcast now begins to brighten. The New Ministry are of one accord, and they will give the tone to the whole World. Already do they walk hand in hand with Lafitte and Soult and Montalivet, and these latter acquire strength and confidence from English Friendship. In vain does General Richemont seek to revive the extinct hatred, the worn out jealousy against England; for universal France now feels that the two Countries have but one common Interest. The most enlightened, and the most free, and the most powerful nations in the World, they will not brook interference in their own case nor will they suffer it in the case of other Nations. Wishing for that Peace which is the only interest of both they will cultivate during its continuance a freer Commerce, a more direct interchange of Commodities: — but if War must come; England and France united: — William and Louis Philip bid defiance to the World. —

Kirwan, A. V.,

A letter from Munich to the right Honorable the Lord Palmerston, His
Britanic Majesty's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs on the late happy
change of ministry in England

Munich 1830

Brit. 320 m

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10280510-9